1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Each Pukapukan individual belongs, by the accident of birth, to six formal social groupings: a tribe, a village, a household group, a bilateral kin group, a grouping of maternal lineages, and a grouping of paternal lineages.

The name for both the island and the tribal grouping of the people as a whole is Te Ulu-o-te-watu. Though there are definite names for village and lineage groups, there is no defining name that may be properly applied to or translated as "tribe". No Pukapukan word expresses the idea of a family; no word is applied to a biological grouping of father, mother, and children. *Wasoo* refers to a man's or a woman's family of children excluding the spouse. A man refers to his wife and children as his *pawa*, not including himself. A household group is referred to as a *yikaanga*, the precise meaning of which is a household lot or site; by extension, *yikaanga* is also applied to the establishment of one extended family, including land, houses, property, and persons thereof. When a person refers to a particular household group, he specifies: "te tangata o te yikaanga a nana i to ngutuvale o Mea" (the people of the *yikaanga* residing in the private house of So-and-so). The word *ngutuvale* refers to one of the several separate household units of the extended family group residing on the same *yikaanga*. Analysis of the composition of the household shows that a biological family does not reside in each *ngutuvale*. The household acts as a unit in the production of food for domestic consumption but is always subsumed by a larger group when large scale economic functions have to be carried out. The bilateral kin group is called *kaaiki*, *waaiwaga*, or *pulipuli*. *Kaaiki* is the word in common use, but the three words all refer to a person's maternal and paternal relatives.

To procure specific information on the various aspects of social organization a census was made of 54 sample households in Ngake and Ysto villages. In Ngake I went from house to house interviewing the oldest member of each household. In Ysto, where my knowledge of the household grouping was greater, I procured information without a house-to-house canvass. All disputed points as to lineage affiliation and the like were referred to a group of older men who acted as a board of judges.

VILLAGE MEMBERSHIP

Membership in a village (*kaka*) by birth, adoption, or formal affiliation gives the privilege of participating in village activities and food divisions. Every person belongs (*tau*) to one of the three villages and shares in the food divisions of that village. One asks, "Ko tau ia Mea i wea?" (Where does So-and-so share in village food divisions?). The answer is "Ko tau i Mea" (He shares in or affiliates with Such-and-such a village). Because the men control village food divisions, each woman and child must affiliate through the agency of a man. Of a woman or child then, the further question is, "Ko ai ko taua?" (Who is it who sponsors her?). The mechanism of affiliation is as follows:

When a child is born, its parents and relatives decide where it is to affiliate. Generally this is in the village of its birth and residence and through the agency of its blood father. A child whose adoption is arranged for at birth belongs from infancy to

[156 578] others must be defeated. Repressed jealousy and hard feeling are common emotions.

152 Under the conditions of life and the type of culture I have indicated it should not be surprising if repressed aggressive tend-
● 571 encies and anxieties show typical reaction formations. Life is such that no one may get away from his fellow-villager. Privacy and solitude as we know them are almost non-existent. Day and night, month in, month out, the individual is continually in contact with others. He cannot get away from them no matter what the provocation. Were it not for certain socially approved ways of expressing otherwise repressed emotions, the society would disintegrate under the weight of its own neuroses.

154 Two socially institutionalised releases for this pent-up emotion may be mentioned. When the old culture was functioning fully, the end of the hurricane season was celebrated with a month or more of dancing, chanting and feasting. The anxiety and worry of the previous months, during which there was an ever-present danger that each day would be the last, was allowed to drain away through a patterned emotional catharsis. Today when the island is nominally Christianized, the church has implicitly recognized the need for this purge. It celebrates a vigorous three-week period of thanksgiving and prayer, following this up with dramatic performances of Bible legend or approved incidents from the traditional history of the island in which village competes against village in a program of boisterous dramatization.

154 Another type of collective abreaction is found in the tradi-
578 tional institutional rivalry among the three villages. At periodical intervals contests are arranged in which village competes against village, the winning village being given the privilege of chanting for one whole day, in the presence of all the people of the island assembled, songs that glorify the chanters and hurl the most vicious insults at everyone else. At the end of a day, excitement reaches a high pitch and floods off into sexual license. Emotional catharsis and physical exhaustion thus combine to reduce the level of anxiety and aggression in the community to a socially safe pressure.

Village contests are arranged for fishing, wrestling, dart-throwing, and today for cricket. In this last sport teams of women compete as well as teams of men. The games continue for some three weeks and the women are at least as vigorous as the men in utilising the opportunity given them to be as nasty and as insulting as they please towards the women of other villages.

As an example of the sort of chant that is considered insulting